

# GI Toll in Vietnam Continues to Mount

By Harry Ring

The report of two GI's killed and two others missing in action on April 8 in South Vietnam is a grim foretaste of the heavier casualties to come if the Kennedy administration persists in its dirty war to save the bankrupt regime of dictator Ngo Dinh Diem.

According to official admissions, 17 U.S. soldiers have died or disappeared in Vietnam since last December. Another 97, enroute to join the fighting, were killed when

their plane was lost over the Pacific.

In reporting the latest four casualties — the first victims of direct combat with the Viet Cong guerrillas — U.S. authorities tried to cling to the threadbare sham that they were not combatants, but merely "advisers" to Diem's troops.

But as U.S. involvement deepens it will become impossible to cloak the real nature of what is going on there. In other countries, the facts are already being reported. The March 16 issue of the British *New Statesman* carried this report from Saigon: "As the foreign ministers talked in Geneva America was fighting an undeclared war in South Vietnam. Already American pilots are regularly engaged in bombing and strafing sorties against the Viet Cong."

Even more ominous: "The area of American involvement was greatly extended with the setting up last month of the U.S. Military Assistance Command under General Paul Harkins. In addition to the 4,500 armed American personnel in South Vietnam, he has a strategic reserve in Okinawa, described recently by an American writer as a 'staging area surpassing Korea as the scene of the greatest concentration of U.S. military power in Asia.'"

(Continued on Page 3)

## A Report on Swiss Nuclear-Ban Vote

By Gordon Bailey

ZURICH, April 2 — In a special National Referendum held April 1, one out of three Swiss voters favored a permanent constitutional ban on atomic weapons for the Swiss Army.

The proposal for a constitutional ban on nuclear arms was put to the voters when over 80,000 citizens signed petitions demanding a National Referendum on this question.

A committee of socialists, liberals, religious leaders and some labor leaders secured the signatures and initiated the campaign against nuclear armament. The campaign engendered so much support that the government was forced to hold the referendum despite the opposition of all the major political parties to the nuclear arms ban.

### Gov't Smear

At first the government attempted to dismiss the anti-nuclear arms campaign as a communist plot. But widespread support from citizens of all political affiliations made the question the most widely debated issue in the country. Many citizens felt that Switzerland should set an example to the world by unilaterally renouncing nuclear arms for all time.

The vote was 286,858 in favor of a nuclear arms ban and 537,387 against. In four cantons (provinces) majorities voted to renounce atomic weapons.

This vote, however, may not have reflected the full extent of the anti-nuclear war sentiment in Switzerland. Nearly half of the potential Swiss electorate was not allowed to vote. Except in three cantons Swiss women do not yet have the vote! Had the women of Switzerland been permitted to record their vote on this question, the anti-nuclear arms vote no doubt would have been much larger than the 35 percent cast solely by the men.

## Ford UAW Local Assails Frame-Up By Monroe Racists

Organized labor is beginning to speak out against the framed-up "kidnap" case which is scheduled for trial May 7 in Monroe, North Carolina.

Most important action by organized labor so far is the following resolution, passed March 28 by this country's largest local union unit, Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers which represents 30,000 workers in Detroit, Mich.

"Whereas, Robert Williams, the militant leader of the Negro community of Monroe, North Carolina, has been driven into exile for his resistance to white oppression and Ku Klux Klan violence, and has been made the victim of a man-hunt throughout the United States and Canada for fighting for freedom, justice and equality, and had been responsible for organizing and solidifying the Negro community in their resolve to demand their rights as equal citizens in the nation; and

"Whereas, the attention of the nation is being increasingly focused on the explosive racial situation in Monroe, North Carolina, and the South in general; and

"Whereas, the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants was organized to aid the distressed Negro community and to provide legal defense funds for freedom fighters — Harold Reape, Richard Crowder, John Lowry and Mae

(Continued on Page 3)

# THE MILITANT

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## SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO

### "There Will Be No Error Which We Will Not Oppose"

[In a major speech March 26 Fidel Castro attacked bureaucratic developments in the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, a fusion of the July 26 Movement, the Popular Socialist (Communist) Party and the Revolutionary Directorate. The following excerpts represent somewhat less than 20 per cent of the complete speech, but have been selected to include the principal points in it.]

To begin with, I would like to refer to a saying of Lenin, that the attitude, that is the seriousness of purpose, of a revolutionary party is measured basically by the attitude it takes toward its own errors. And in the same way,

the masses over. The Cuban people, in great numbers, began to accept revolutionary ideas, to uphold revolutionary ideas. That ardor, that rebelliousness, that sense of indignant protest against tyranny, against abuse, against injustice, was slowly converted into the firm revolutionary consciousness of our people.

The revolutionary ideas did not become the consciousness of a minority, of a group. They became the consciousness of the great masses of our people . . .

(Continued on Page 2)

## Pioneer to Publish Castro Speech

NEW YORK — Pioneer Publishers announced it is publishing a complete English translation of Fidel Castro's March 26 speech to the Cuban people scoring bureaucratic developments in the united revolutionary party now in process of formation. Information regarding this important pamphlet may be obtained by writing Pioneer Publishers at 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

our seriousness of purpose as revolutionists and as members of the government will be measured by the attitude we take toward our own errors . . .

In this regard, the group of revolutionary *compañeros* who had been serving as members of the directorate of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations have been conducting a wide-ranging discussion. We have been making a serious analysis, an honest analysis, a deep analysis of this whole process, of the integration process, from January 1st up to the present. We have been analyzing all that has been done, the good things which have been done and also the errors which have been made.

\* \* \*

One of the fundamental problems engendered in the struggle against reactionary ideas, against conservative ideas, against the deserters, against those who wavered, against those with negative attitudes, was sectarianism . . .

What tendency was manifesting itself? An opposite tendency began to manifest itself. The tendency to mistrust everybody, the tendency to mistrust everyone who could not claim a long record of Marxist militancy, who had not been an old Marxist militant . . .

When it was reported: "such and such a chargé d'affaires deserted, such and such a consul deserted, such and such an attaché deserted"; it was not conceivable that the Republic could permit itself the luxury of naming people to posts who, because they were not politically firm and well-grounded, caused scandals, embarrassed the revolution, and made it possible to believe that we had no reliable persons who could be named to those posts.

Well, that is correct. It cannot be denied that that is correct. It is true that given conditions originate given needs. But the revolution continued its forward march. The revolution came to be a powerful ideological movement. Revolutionary ideas slowly won

## 8-Page Militant Is Fund Target

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Drive Director

With this issue *The Militant* announces its campaign to expand to eight pages. A drive is now underway to raise an 8-Page Militant Fund of \$21,000 by June 15.

There is little need to belabor the necessity of such an expansion. In its present size *The Militant* presents the truth about the world and national events as best it can and, as one kind reader said, "in a remarkable manner." The few 8-page issues which we have put out in the past six months give a foretaste of what can be done in an enlarged paper. Moreover, a frequent criticism in letters to the editor is that the paper is far too small and cannot cover events readers want reported and analyzed.

If we were an 8-pager now, for example, we could print the bulk of Castro's momentous March 26 speech rather than being limited to excerpts.

You ask us to report more on world events. You want us to write more about the American scene. That is what we want to do. But four small pages cramp our style. For each issue it is hard to decide what shall and shall not be covered and some important stories always have to be sacrificed. Everything going on in today's turbulent world is of interest to thinking people. But space limitations in a 4-pager are as hard to get over as a mile-high fence.

Therefore we have decided to try to break that fence down. We are going to try to double the paper's size. But we need your help to do so. The printer and Post Office take a very dim view of pure socialist intention, they demand that capitalist commodity called money.

You can help us make a hole in that fence by sending in your Truth Dollars to: *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. Every contribution will make more certain *The Militant's* expansion and therefore the printing of more truth about what is really going on in the world.

See Fund Scoreboard page 3.



Helen Sobell, her son Mark, and supporters of Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, heckled by fascist pickets (left) as they emerge from New York hotel April 2 for walk to UN to present clemency plea for Sobell who was railroaded to prison on charge of "conspiracy" to commit espionage.

## A Blooper-Ball Settlement

### Steel Pact Even Bars a Real Ball Game

By Fred Halstead

A revealing light is cast upon the recent settlement in basic steel by the April 5 *Lorain Labor Leader*, newspaper of Steelworkers Local 1104 in Lorain, Ohio.

The main article on page one opens: "Disagreeing sharply with those who now appear to be eager to criticize and minimize the terms of the steel contract settlement, David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers, hailed it as one of the 'greatest steps forward for the thousands of men and women employed in the nation's steel mills.'"

There is nothing new about McDonald trying to make one of his defaults sound like a great victory. Nor is it surprising that some steelworkers see through it. But the revealing item does not appear in the paper's article about

the settlement, but in a back-page column about league sports for the local's members.

Listed along with bowling and volley ball is "blooper-pitch softball," a toned-down version of the great American pastime. Such things are necessary, says the column, "because of the cutbacks and not hiring of any young people, these must be middle-age sports."

What automation has done to Local 1104, it has done to the Steelworkers union as a whole. As McDonald himself used to declare (Nov. 1961): "Prior to 1958 we had as many as 1.1 million dues-paying members. We now have in excess of 905,000. Simple arithmetic would show that we now have some 300,000 unemployed. We must find jobs for these people by fewer hours of work per week or per year."

But when the Kennedy adminis-

tration requested it, McDonald stopped making such statements. Instead he settled for a few minor fringe benefits which at best offer some increased income security to some of the high-seniority workers. The unemployed and the youth, who should be finding jobs in the steel plants, are left out.

This irresponsible settlement is being palmed off, even by the labor press, as a great thing. But the boys planning a recreation program at National Tube in Lorain have their feet on the ground.

They know there'll be no rehiring of low-seniority workers nor any influx of young blood into the plant under the new settlement.

That's why there won't be enough young men working to make up an overhand-pitch ball league next year. Mighty McDonald has struck out!



# ... Fidel Castro Speaks on Bureaucratism

(Continued from Page 1)

The people developed rapidly. The people became more revolutionary by the day . . .

Who can deny the heroism with which the soldiers, the members of the militia, the men and women, fought? Who can deny the heroism with which the people fought the mercenaries of Playa Giron? . . . A look at the number on the casualty list will suffice to make us comprehend with what enthusiasm, with what selflessness, the masses threw themselves into the fight. There they were consciously fighting, filled with enthusiasm, for the socialist revolution!

What does this mean? This means that a great qualitative change had taken place in the masses: they had become revolutionary masses. That is a positive fact, an undeniable fact. Whoever doesn't see it that way is near-sighted. Whoever doesn't see it that way is blind. Whoever doesn't see it that way is simply an idiot.

Then, if that was a truth which was self-evident, could we then apply methods which were applicable to other conditions? . . . Could we turn those methods for the selection of *compañeros* for different administrative posts into a system? We could not turn those methods into a system! . . .

And we turned certain methods into a system and fell into a frightful sectarianism . . .

We often asked ourselves: What could be the reason? Where lies the reason for that implacable, untiring, systematic, sectarian spirit, which is found everywhere, which is found on all levels, which is found wherever one goes? What are the causes, the roots of this sectarian spirit? . . .

At times one could think: Well, this is the policy of a group; this is the policy of a party; there seem to be many who are responsible for this. Of course, we have all been responsible, are responsible, in some degree or other . . .

Others worked at tasks related to the formation of the party. And the party was taking shape, rather the ORI [Integrated Revolutionary Organizations] was taking shape. The ORI was being integrated. But were we really form-

ing a true Marxist party? Were we really constructing a true vanguard of the working class? Were we really integrating the revolutionary forces? We were not integrating the revolutionary forces. We were not organizing a party. We were organizing or creating or making a straitjacket, a yoke, *compañeros*. We were not furthering a free association of revolutionists, rather we were forming an army of tamed and submissive revolutionists.

We reached the conclusion, we were all convinced that *compañero* Anibal Escalante, abusing the confidence put in him, pursued a non-Marxist policy from his post as secretary in charge of organization, followed a policy which departed from Leninist norms regarding the organization of a workers' vanguard party, and that he tried to organize an apparatus to pursue personal ends.

We believe that *compañero* Anibal Escalante has had a lot to do with the conversion of sectarianism into a system, with the conversion of sectarianism into a virus, into a veritable disease during this process.

*Compañero* Anibal Escalante is the one responsible for having promoted the sectarian spirit to its highest possible level, of having promoted that sectarian spirit for personal reasons, for the purpose of establishing an organization which he controlled. He is the one responsible for introducing, moreover, within that organization a series of methods which were leading to the creation not of a party — as we were saying — but rather of a tyranny, of a straitjacket.

We believe that Anibal Escalante's actions in these matters were not the product of oversight nor that they were unconscious, but rather that they were deliberate and conscious . . .

He was creating conditions and giving instructions which tended to convert that apparatus, not into the apparatus of the workers' vanguard, but rather into a nest of privilege, into one which tolerated favoritism, into a system of immunities and favors.

And similarly how many other things had like origins? Like those who, in a high fever after having barely read a little Marxist book, or having read it before and not having understood it, went about saying that *History Will Absolve Me* [Castro's defense speech at 1953 trial for attack on Moncada Barracks] was a reactionary document.

*History Will Absolve Me* does not have to be read in the schools for revolutionary instruction. It is not a Marxist classic. It is the expression of a developing mind, of a series of ideas which have been a constant concern of revolutionists. And it is a living denunciation made when that denunciation had to be made, at the risk of one's life . . .

And there was another one who said that the attack on the Moncada Barracks had been a mistake . . .

What is at issue in the matter of the Moncada Barracks and the *Granma* are not the deeds but the line, the correct line, the line of armed struggle; not the corrupt political line, the electioneering line, but the line of armed struggle against the Batista tyranny, a line which history proved to be the correct one.

Is it possible to be so deaf, so blind, so nearsighted and so idiotic as to ignore the lessons of history, and to be unable to draw the lessons which are to be drawn from history? . . .

We believe that the masses are the makers of history; they are the architects of history. Now, history may be made, but it cannot be falsified. It may be made but it cannot be rewritten. There is only one history, and you cannot write it according to your subjective wishes. And all such histories must be done away with to

make way for all real history, all true history.

Very well, then. How could such things happen in a party? There you have that matter which has been discussed so much, the problem of the cult of personality. Perhaps an example of what we, or at least of what I, understand as the cult of personality could serve as the subject of a good lesson for the political instructors to give the troops and the principals to give in the schools.

We waged a war, we led it, we won it, and there are no general's stars on our shoulders and no medals hang from our chests. And the first law which we proposed when we assumed governmental power prohibited the erection of statues — these problems related to the cult of personality were not discussed as much then as they are now — but out of deep conviction we proposed prohibiting the erection of statues of living persons, the naming of streets after living persons and, what is more, that the placing of our portraits in government offices be prohibited by law. This we did from deep conviction, from deep revolutionary conviction. Was this demagoguery? No. We acted this way from profound revolutionary conviction.

But I ask myself the following question: Why have we been discussing a problem so much which was not our problem but the Soviet Unions? All right. We should be well informed. We should inform, discuss, if they are problems which have to do with the experience of Marxism, but we didn't have to turn it into the central theme of our discussions. For we have much more important things to discuss and this means that we are doing something like the following: that we are waging a campaign against the bubonic plague when, instead of the bubonic plague, there is malaria and poliomyelitis. It is true we don't want to be attacked by the bubonic plague, and we should be vaccinated against it and take the necessary measures and, in addition, we should know what the bubonic plague is. But when we have to fight we should fight against malaria and poliomyelitis which are the actual and present ills.

How did this affect the political organization of the revolution? Very simply, *compañeros*. We were not creating an organization; I already said that we were preparing a yoke, a straitjacket. I'm going to go a little farther: we were creating a mere shell of an organization. How? The masses had not been integrated. We speak here of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations. It was an organization composed of the militants of the Partido Socialista Popular.

The rest of the organizations, the Student Directorate, the 26th of July, what were they? Were they organizations which had an old organized membership? No. They were organizations which had great mass support, they had an overwhelming mass support. That is what the 26th of July was; that is what the other organizations were. They enjoyed great prestige, great popularity. These people were not organized into an organization.

If we are going to form an organization, an integration, and we don't integrate the masses, we will not be integrating anything; we will be falling into a sectarianism like that we fell into.

Then, how were the nuclei [units of the ORI] formed? I'm going to tell you how. In every province the general secretary of the PSP was made general secretary of the ORI; in all the nuclei, the general secretary of the PSP was made general secretary of the ORI; in every municipality, the general secretary of the PSP was made general secretary of the ORI; in every nucleus, the general secretary — the member of the



Supporters of Medical Aid to Cuba Committee at New York's Idlewild Airport April 2 with shipment of medicine valued at \$15,000. Theoretically, medicine is not on Kennedy's embargo list but Cubans find few U.S. drug companies ready to sell to them.

PSP — was made general secretary of the nucleus. Is that what you call integration? *Compañero* Anibal Escalante is responsible for that policy.

What resulted from this, what consequences did it have? All that we have done to fight against anti-communism, the ideological struggle, the incessant explaining that slowly destroyed anti-communism — for anti-communism, as we ourselves have said, engendered sectarianism in its turn, because the isolated, harassed Marxist-Leninists tended to protect themselves closely in their own organization, to shut themselves up within their organization.

Very well. Those are the consequences of anti-communism, of harassment; they engender sectarianism. Once anti-communism is wiped out, if extreme sectarianism still remains, it will once again give rise to anti-communism and to confusion. Because many people will ask, "Is this communism, is this Marxism? Is this Marxism — this arbitrariness, this abuse, this privilege, all of this, is this communism?" . . .

No one should have the least doubt, and I think that anyone who has it now must be completely crazy — let's use that word. At the present time I must speak with extraordinary objectivity, but with an extraordinary objectivity, frankness, loyalty, honesty, keeping back nothing. Because we will make sure that our words will not be misunderstood, *compañeros*.

Very well, then, that sectarianism fosters anti-communism anew. What Marxist-Leninist mind could think of employing — when the revolution is in power — the methods employed when Marxism-Leninism was not in power, when it was completely surrounded and isolated? To isolate oneself from the masses when one is in power — that is madness. It is another matter to be isolated by the ruling classes, by the exploiters, when the *latifundistas* [great landowners] and the imperialists are in power; but to be divorced from the masses when the workers, the *campesinos*, when the working class is in power, is a crime. Then sectarianism becomes counter-revolutionary because it weakens and harms the revolution . . .

That is a gigantic error, *compañeros*, to fall into an error of that nature is a crime, a counter-revolutionary crime.

That sectarian policy threatened to sweep all before it. No one felt secure any longer because of that sectarianism. Many *compañeros* saw evidence of sectarianism everywhere. No one felt secure. Why? Because it was a policy that was not based on principles; because it was a policy that was not based on correct methods. A policy based on principles, a policy based on correct methods offers guarantees and security to all revolutionists.

It is not a policy which is based on the acceptance of mine or another's friends. It is not a policy based on personal friendships. It

is not a policy based on unconditional followers. It is not a policy based on tamed or submissive people. No! A Marxist-Leninist party, which is the vanguard of the working class, is an association of free revolutionists, wherein all the revolutionists follow a policy based on methods and principles, a policy which offers equal guarantees to all, to whoever works, to whoever fulfills his responsibilities. A policy which offers guarantees to all against injustice, against abuse of power, against discrimination, against mistreatment, so that all may feel that they are equally guaranteed, the new as well as the old.

If we do the same on all levels it will strengthen us, it will make our revolution more powerful. It will make the people's faith in the revolutionary leadership firmer. It will make the faith of all the revolutionists of the world in us greater. It will make the faith of all the revolutionary organizations of Latin America in the Cuban Revolution greater. Why? Because the fact that we know how to make corrections will give the Cuban Revolution prestige. It will give the Cuban Revolution all the strength which organizations have when they know how to purify themselves of evils, when they know how to overcome their difficulties.

Rest assured, *compañeros*, that by doing this our revolution will be invincible. Rest assured, *compañeros*, that by doing this there will be no force in the world which will be able to defeat our revolution, and I repeat here what I said when we arrived at the capital of the Republic: "We have overcome our own obstacles. No enemies but ourselves, but our errors remain. Only our own errors will be able to destroy this revolution!"

I repeat it today, but I add that there will be no error which we will not oppose and that therefore there will be no error which will be able to destroy the revolution! There will be no errors which will not be overcome, and that is why our revolution will be invincible.

## The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought

A speech by

**FIDEL CASTRO**

16 pages

15 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Pl.,  
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## Weekly Calendar

### CLEVELAND

What Makes Latin America Explosive? — First-hand report by Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*. Sat., April 28, 8:15 p.m. Manger Hotel, 1802 E. 13th St. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Aup. Militant Forum.

### DETROIT

What Makes Latin America Explosive? Speaker, Joseph Hansen, editor, *The Militant*. Fri., April 20, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

HEAR THE MONROE STORY. Speaker, John Lowry, young Freedom Rider indicted in Monroe "kidnap" case. Also, Earl Waters, chairman Los Angeles CORE and other notable speakers. Fri., April 20, 8:30 p.m. Warehousemen's Hall, 5625 So. Figueroa. Aup. Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants.

### NEW YORK

Commemorate the First Anniversary of the Invasion of Cuba. Hear Fair Play for Cuba Committee general counsel Stanley Faulkner discuss "The Breaches of International and Domestic Law by the U.S. at Playa Giron." See a Cuban film of the invasion. Mon., April 16, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Aup. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

First-Hand Report from Birmingham, Ala. — The Negro Boycott Movement. The Recent Conference of Three Leading Civil Rights Organizations. Speaker, Claude De Bruce. Fri., April 20, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.



# THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 16, 1962

## How the Dailies 'Cover' Cuba

Fidel Castro made an extremely important speech on the evening of March 26. The handling of this big news event by this country's big-business-controlled press is a prime example of its incompetence, servility and stupidity.

Though all the wire services and many individual newspapers monitor Castro's speeches which can be got on TV in Florida and on radio elsewhere, the scant reports carried next day by the daily papers betrayed no inkling of the importance of the Cuban Premier's utterances. This was sheer incompetence.

This incompetence on reporting about Cuba, which dates back before the revolution, has been exacerbated by a servility to Washington's anti-Castro policy ever since.

Thus it was not until April 4 that the U.S. press "recognized" the importance of the March 26 speech. It did so then only because State Department officials said it was important and that it was all right to so inform newspaper readers. Thereupon the *New York Times* ("All the news that's fit to print") carried a front-page story followed next day by an editorial which sagely began: "The Cuban Revolution took a turn of major importance with Premier Castro's television speech of March 26 . . ." The liberal *New York Post* followed suit next day. On April 6, the *Christian Science Monitor*, which prides itself on its extensive foreign coverage, "discovered" the speech in its main front-page story.

So the great (in size) dailies with all their wealth of technical facilities were in the position of being scooped by a small weekly like *The Militant*, which wrote its lead story announcing the speech's importance before a March 28 deadline (for its issue dated April 2). We may claim a certain amount of competence in our news reporting but it was mainly attributable to our lack of servility towards Washington's official line on Cuba, or to put it positively, to our complete distrust of that line.

That is also why we can avoid the stupidities with which the U.S. daily press is now "explaining" the importance of Castro's speech. Caught in the web of propaganda falsifications, trying to reconcile events with their own recent fairy tales about Castro being a "prisoner" of the Cuban Communist Party, a Moscow "puppet" in a "satellite" state, a "figurehead" without power, etc., they completely distort the import of what the Cuban leader said on March 26.

Castro did not climb back from the brink of political oblivion, he did not open a witch hunt against the Communist Party, he did not signalize a turn from the relations with the Soviet bloc countries towards U.S. imperialism. Rather, he announced the rooting out of bureaucratic, undemocratic abuses from the new unified revolutionary party which were in process of being institutionalized by Communist Party leader Anibal Escalante.

In doing this Fidel Castro kept the ship of revolution on the course it has followed since it came to power — a revolution belonging to the masses, not to any privileged group or bureaucracy. The revolution continues to steer away from the shoals of Stalinism and heads for the kind of revolutionary workers' democracy which marked the Russian Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky.

There is small comfort for imperial Washington and its prostitute press in this development. They would prefer it the other way, not only the better to revile the Cuban Revolution, but because it would be weaker, more vulnerable and less of a threat to the imperialist domination of Latin America.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
San Francisco	\$ 720	\$ 330	47
Boston	750	336	45
Milwaukee	320	136	42
Detroit	800	289	36
Allentown	155	52	33
St. Louis	100	32	32
Twin Cities	1,500	470	31
Chicago	1,000	300	30
New York	5,700	1,654	29
San Diego	360	104	29
Berkeley-Oakland	635	181	29
Connecticut	200	45	23
Newark	190	41	22
Denver	200	30	15
Los Angeles	6,300	660	10
Philadelphia	320	20	6
Cleveland	600	0	0
Seattle	600	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
General	540	0	0
Totals through April 9	\$21,000	\$4,680	22

## ACLU Acts to Halt Deportation Order

The American Civil Liberties Union announced April 2 that it had asked for reversal of an "unwise and unconstitutional" deportation order against a former member of the Socialist Workers Party.

To send George Scythes, 53, back to his native Canada after 28 years' residence in the U.S., it asserted, would violate (1) the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment; (2) judicial findings that aliens may not be punished for organizational objections of which they are unaware; and (3) the free speech and association provisions of the First Amendment.

Scythes, the ACLU declared in a March 15 friend-of-the-court brief filed with the U.S. Court of Appeals in Chicago, "has been ordered driven from the United States for a reason three times removed from the constitutional purpose of deportation. First, the Socialist Workers Party never took illegal action against our nation; second, the Socialist Workers Party never taught illegal action against our nation; and third, even if the Socialist Workers Party abstractly advocated illegal action, petitioner did not know about it . . . All that (Scythes) believed was that the First Amendment meant what it said and that our free institutions meant what was said of them. The Immigration and Naturalization Service has destroyed both of these beliefs. This court must make them whole again."

The ACLU reminded the court that it has consistently opposed as unconstitutional the deportation of aliens, including Communists, because of their political beliefs and associations.

Scythes, a resident of Milwaukee, was ordered deported in 1960 after administrative findings that he had been a member of the SWP in Newark, N.J., and Milwaukee from 1939 until 1955.

## ... Monroe Case

(Continued from Page 1)

Mallory — who go on trial May 7, 1962; and

"Whereas, many organizations, including the Detroit Baptist Ministers Alliance, the Boston Unitarian Churches and the Bayside, New York, NAACP have lent support and given financial aid to this necessary and just cause, and

"Whereas, United States Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D. Mich.) has promised to use his good offices to seek an investigation of this case by proper authorities. This is a first step in an effort to repair the untold damage done to the American image as a bastion of freedom and a place of refuge and asylum for the politically oppressed. We applaud this action on the part of Congressman Diggs in attempting to repair the American image. We deplore the conditions that made it necessary for an American to flee his country because of his fear that he would not receive equal justice under the law; therefore be it

"Resolved, that we, Local 600, UAW (AFL-CIO), do endorse and support the work of the CAMD and urge our members to cooperate with and aid the Committee in their efforts to raise funds for the defense of these victims of southern justice; and be it further

"Resolved, that we request the President of the United States to give executive clemency to Robert Williams who, to our knowledge, is guilty of no crime; and be it finally

"Resolved, that this resolution be brought to the attention of the membership and that it be printed in its entirety in *Ford Facts*."

In addition to the three young men — all under 21 — facing trial in Monroe May 7, a fourth defendant, Mrs. Mae Mallory, is fighting extradition from Ohio.

## Our Editor on Tour Hard Facts Subdue Rightist Students

SEATTLE — Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, who is addressing meetings throughout the country to report on his recent four-month tour of Latin America, gave three public talks in this area and had informal discussions with many young people new to the ideas of revolutionary socialism. It was, in the opinion of veteran Seattle socialists, one of the most successful speaking tours to hit this city in many a year.

On March 29 Hansen spoke under the auspices of the Association of the Students of the Americas, a campus group at the University of Washington of North and South American students. Interest in Hansen's talk on "Latin America in Ferment" was increased by opposition to his appearance. In an open letter to the university president, printed in the *University of Washington Daily*, one student urged that the administration "act with the same courage and wisdom as in the Gus Hall issue" (about six weeks ago Hall was denied permission to speak on campus; after protests from students and faculty, an ad hoc student committee sponsored Hall's talk at the YM-YWCA across the street from the campus).

### "Intolerable"

The open letter continued: "In view of the fact that Mr. Hansen has recently been one of America's leading apologists for Fidel Castro and Cheddi Jagan, it would seem intolerable that such a person should be given the opportunity of influencing a strategic group of impressionable students from Latin America — the very persons upon which the hope of freedom and democracy in their homelands rests."

An attentive, courteous audience of some 200 heard Hansen and then asked thoughtful questions. Rightists attending the meeting lost their arrogance in the face of the speaker's factual presentation and were reduced to timid and respectful questioning from the floor. Afterwards many students attended a reception for Hansen.

Next day Hansen spoke again on campus to a meeting of 55 students — this time on "The Cuban Revolution, What It Is, Where It Is Going" — under the auspices of Anvil Club, a recently reorganized student socialist organization.

Hansen's last appearance was

## ... Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

And, the *New Statesman* makes clear, Vietnam can become just as bloody a battleground for the U.S. as Korea was. There the U.S. intervened in a civil war to save the hated regime of Syngman Rhee. In Vietnam it fights in a civil war to save the hated Diem regime.

"Today," reports the *New Statesman*, "after the Americans have spent \$2 billion to fight communism, only three of the 35 provinces are considered 'safe' by the Diem administration . . . President Diem and his family entourage are unpopular. The significant fact about the recent attack on his life was that it was made by young pilots who were sent to bomb the Viet Cong but decided they were doing a better service to their country by turning their guns on the palace."

Because the Diem tyranny is so universally hated, the efforts to save him has led the U.S. to take charge of burning entire villages and forcing the peasants into prison-camp "strategic villages."

In these camps a sample of American "know-how" is given. The U.S. pays the peasants \$21 for destroying their homes, but deducts \$15 for the new hut.



Joseph Hansen

on March 31 before a downtown meeting sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party. Speaking on "What Makes Latin America Explosive," Hansen concluded with some suggestions to an audience of 65 as to how North Americans can support the Latin-American revolution. The meeting was followed by a social at the nearby SWP headquarters at which "a good time was had by all."

From Seattle, Hansen's itinerary is Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Madison, and Chicago. He will speak in Detroit April 18-21. [See calendar.]

## Emile De Donder

*The Militant* recently received the sad news of the death of Emile De Donder, a veteran of Belgian Trotskyism, at his home in Farcennes, Belgium. He was found dead on March 3, having died in his sleep. Emile had lived alone since the death of his brother, Julien, another outstanding militant of the revolutionary movement in that country.

Emile De Donder was born in 1897. He was the very model of a militant: loyal, honest, unselfish, full of goodness, always ready to serve the cause of labor, whatever the hour or the weather. And he never wavered in his convictions. A pensioned worker, this prominent fighter for socialism was active for Belgium's socialist Left to his last days despite a deteriorating state of health; his delightful sense of humor never leaving him.

Everybody in the important industrial and coal-mining area of Charleroi seemed to know this inspiring figure, this heavy-built man, determined, yet kind and understanding, who for decades stood in the forefront of all the struggles of the Belgian working class.

A true internationalist, he also was much interested in the American labor movement and the world proletariat's struggle in general, and he showed feelings of sincere friendship for the Socialist Workers Party.

## Special Offer To New Readers

A four-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for only 50 cents. Send this coupon with payment to: *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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## Report From Spain

## April Fool's Day in Francoland

By Earl Owens

BARCELONA, April 1 — Today, April Fools Day, is the twenty-third anniversary of the victory of Generalissimo Franco over the Republic.

Sailors from the U. S. Mediterranean Fleet walk in the evening down the Ramblas, looking at prostitutes. Near the Hotel Falcon, which in 1937 was headquarters of the POUM [Workers Party of Marxist Unification], where once George Orwell stood guard, an American sailor gets into a brawl with a Spaniard.

The newspapers carry articles today on Teruel, Brunete, Belchite, Oviedo. But no mention appears of Guernica or the German and Italian airplanes, guns and troops, or the Falangist prisons where the diet was dog meat and alfalfa, and the prisoners chosen by lot for the firing squad.

There is no mention today that during the Civil War, the Falange promised agrarian reform and the nationalization of banks. The Republicans promised the same, so that many Spaniards couldn't understand the difference, as neither side did much about it. Today one-twelfth of one per cent (.012%) of landowners own 33 per cent of the land. And groups in the Falange now say they were tricked.

## Superficial Appearance

But Spain is no longer seething with revolution. In fact, the superficial appearance of Spain today is almost as if the Civil War of 1936-39 never happened. The streets are full of Spanish-made Fiats. The crowds line up to see the latest censored films dubbed in Spanish. And if no one boos when Franco appears on the screen, then no one claps either. (The audience is no longer required to give the fascist salute when his image appears.) Franco's face appears on the coins and stamps, and his name is on at least one street in every Spanish city. But he isn't popular.

The average Spanish worker today earns \$10 to \$15 (U.S.) a week (with a buying power in terms of food and housing equivalent to a U.S. wage of two to three times higher). Working ten to twelve hours a day to earn this wage, either with overtime or two jobs, six days a week, his condition is worse than it was under the Republic 25 years ago. He and his family are theoretically eligible to receive free hospital treatment and medicine. But, in practice, the medical facilities offered by Social Security are generally insanitary and inadequate, besides involving red tape such as the requirement of a letter from a priest.

As a consequence, the bulk of Spanish workers prefer to use a private doctor and pay for their



Despite regimentation, Spanish workers and students have demonstrated opposition to Franco. On March 12, 1951, 300,000 Barcelona workers staged a general strike. Scene above is just after police killed two workers.

medicines — if they are in any position to do so. Upon retiring, the worker is eligible for a pension at approximately one-half his previous wage, and insufficient to live on. In all, deductions are almost double the actual benefits paid by this Falangist welfare state, turning a tidy profit for the government.

The worker is forbidden to strike. Article 222 of the Penal Code classifies strikes as sedition. The leaders of the trade-union syndicates a worker belongs to are appointed by the government. The only chance he has of improving his lot is emigration. Thus, 40,000 to 50,000 Spanish workers leave each year for France, Switzerland and Germany, but they depend on a booming economy in Europe, a situation not preordained to last forever.

The favorite Spanish pastime, though, besides soccer and the bullfights, is telling jokes about the Generalissimo. It is, of course, done in private, but is an accepted custom. But there is no alternative, politically, to Franco. If free elections were held today in Spain, there can be no doubt Fidel Castro would win by a landslide.

Although there exist incipient underground organizations and study groups, Spain has yet to develop its own Castro. As long as workers can emigrate (providing a safety valve for discontent), as long as seven and a half million tourists a year keep bringing in foreign exchange, and the U.S. government comes through with

military aid and easy-term loans, and Europeans keep eating Spanish fruits and vegetables, the regime seems safe.

For the time being, the principal weak spot in the regime is the Caudillo himself. He is approaching his 70th birthday. And though Spaniards may talk despondently of his becoming another Adenauer, the life-expectancy statistics of the insurance companies are catching up. The problem for the regime is: Will it go when Franco goes? Theoretically, Don Juan Carlos will become king on Franco's death. But there is question whether he can become absolutist monarch and dictator. Anything less than that, a regime which made concessions to the masses, would only create an appetite for complete liberation. The Church is now maneuvering away from open support for the regime to avoid finding itself with its pants down, even though from top to bottom it is on the government payroll, with bishops earning as much as generals.

As I write, a special mass is being said in the Church of Montjuich in memory of the "Glorious Martyrs for God and for Spain." But on the slopes of the hill above this church are the barracas, the shacks made of wood or pieces of stones, with roofs of cardboard or straw, where often eight or ten people live in one room without sanitation facilities, cooking at a fire on the floor; where, when they reach the age of 40, the men and women are old. When they are ready they will show no mercy.

## Letters From Our Readers

## Medical Aid to Cuba

Tucson, Ariz.

Almost a year has passed since the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba on April 17, 1961. I look back on that date with sadness and shame that the invasion was planned and financed by the CIA, an agency of the United States government. U.S. government hostility toward the Cuban revolution continues and intensifies. Cuba's Ambassador at the United Nations, Raul Roa, charges that another invasion of Cuba is being prepared — as he had charged so prophetically prior to April 17, 1961. The United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, denies these charges — as he had denied so untruthfully prior to April 17, 1961.

While it appears to be the policy of my government to plot death for Cuban people and Cuban hopes, it is still possible to extend hands of friendship and a wish for life and health to the Cuban people. I am responding in remembrance of April 17 by sending a contribution to the Medical Aid for Cuba Committee, 147 West 33rd St., Suite 409, New York 1, N.Y. I hope that you may want to respond in a like manner.

Although I do not concur with all your editorial viewpoints, *The Militant* is a welcome, refreshing change from the drivel which crowds the local press.

One thing is to be noted: possibly as high as 80 per cent of your printed letters from readers — well written and intelligent letters — contain no signature. Am I to assume that these people are afraid to have their names associated with *The Militant*? It appears that initials, "Friend," "Subscriber," etc., bear testimony to the attitude to which dissent and opposition are greeted in this country.

In the spirit of political liberty, I remain, sincerely,

Richard Levine

[It is a sad fact of America's witch-hunting "way of life" that some people can be victimized simply on the basis of having their names appear in a socialist paper. Because of this we follow the policy of not including names on letters unless specifically authorized to do so, or if it is apparent from the text of the letter that the writer has no objection.—EDITOR.]

## Need for Marxism

San Francisco, Calif.

Enclosed is money to renew my subscription and for two copies of the *Second Declaration of Havana*. I especially enjoy your reports from Latin America and Monroe, N.C. Keep up the good work. More Marxist analyses of world events are sorely needed in this country.

R.W.K.

## Havana Headline

Cleveland, Ohio

A Havana newspaper was rushed onto the streets. It had a headline blazing across the front page in bold double column: "Hatred of the Yankee Monopolies Will Be the Religion of Cuba."

This paper was not put out by the socialist government of Cuba in 1960 or 1961. Believe it or not, this incident took place in June of 1922. This bold headline was a typical reaction to the long period of ruthless control of the Cuban economy for the profit of U.S. companies plus a very small group of corrupt and privileged Cuban politicians and businessmen.

All readers please note that the above-mentioned paper was printed four years before Dr. Fidel Castro was born.

G.C.

## Steel Union Settlement

Oakland, Calif.

The April 2 issue of the paper with the special coverage on Cuba was really excellent. I found myself rereading it to make sure I didn't miss anything.

I am looking forward to your reporting on the Steel contract settlement. In particular, I hope you intend to deal with McDonald's brainwashed acceptance of the capitalist lie that wage increases require price increases. This myth has been pushed so hard in the boss press that today many workers have come to accept it as a fact.

Paul Montauk

[The argument that prices are determined by wages and that, therefore, any wage increase automatically means a price increase was scientifically refuted by Karl Marx in his classic work, *Value, Price and Profit*. This pamphlet may be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y., for 15 cents.—EDITOR.]

## Thought for the Week

"While U.S. missiles already have myriad safety checks and controls, the experts still aren't satisfied. Their worry: What if one of the thousands of men manning the firing consoles should go berserk and start a private nuclear war? To forestall that, Gen. Curtis LeMay has ordered that all 50,000 airmen with any possible access to nuclear weapons be rescreened for a 'human reliability certificate.'" — *The April 2 Newsweek*.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Bedraggled Fringe** — "Negotiators agree on a new steel contract with lots of fringe benefits. In fact, the only fringes that won't benefit are the 450,000 steel workers who didn't get a raise." — Washington correspondent Fletcher Knebel in the March 20 *Minneapolis Star*.

**Military Planning** — "WASHINGTON, April 1 (UPI) — A battalion on an around-the-clock ready status in case of war was equipped several months before the Berlin crisis with tanks that could not be used in combat. The battalion trained with tanks that were ruled unsafe, unserviceable and unsuitable, it was revealed today. Newer tanks which the battalion was supposed to use in case of war were found to have rotted at a storage depot."

**Malarkey?** — An Opinion Research Corp. survey of Princeton,

N. J., high school seniors found they held these beliefs: 61% did not believe in profits; 62% thought workers should not produce all they could; 53% voted for government ownership of banks, railroads and steel; 55% believe in the theory, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Commenting on these findings, Cleveland *Plain Dealer* columnist Philip Porter complained: "They'd probably get pretty sore if it were suggested they had already bought Marxist communism, but if they really believe this malarkey . . . they surely have without even being aware of it."

**What Price Patriotism?** — The Warren, Pa., *Times-Mirror* has discontinued free ads for U.S. savings bonds to protest the slated increase in second-class postage rates.

**Payoff for Punta del Este** — An April 7 *New York Times* report from Haiti said: ". . . the United States has allotted \$7,250,000 to the 1962 program of economic and technical assistance to Haiti . . . The continuation of aid appeared to controvert reports that the United States had presented to President Francois Duvalier a list of conditions for further assistance. The conditions were said to include the release of political prisoners, ending of rule by decree . . . and the calling of a presidential election before 1963."

**March of Technology** — Mrs. Gladstone Williams, director of a finishing school course at Southeastern University in Washington, D.C., has patented a posture-improvement attachment for brasieres.